

made great strides from a one-party Communist country with a command economy to the multiparty free market democracy. In the last 5 years, Mongolia has also freed itself from Soviet domination. Within a year from the fall of the Berlin Wall, the popularly elected Mongolian legislature—whose election we are commemorating in this resolution—enacted a new constitution which declared Mongolia an independent, sovereign republic with guaranteed civil rights and freedoms. These changes were not only dramatic in scope and speed, they were also accomplished without firing a shot and with little concrete support from the outside.

These accomplishments are worthy of congressional commendation. That is why we are here today.

The political changes of 1990–91 also marked the beginning of Mongolia's efforts to develop a market economy. Mongolia continues to press ahead with economic reform, including privatization of the economy, price deregulation, and the establishment of a single exchange rate.

More needs to be done to consolidate these reforms. The best hope for accelerated growth in Mongolia is to attract foreign investment, further liberalize the economy, and expand trade with nontraditional partners.

The United States has sought to assist Mongolia's movement toward democracy and market-oriented reforms. The First Lady, on her recent visit to Mongolia, announced a \$4.5 million aid package for that country. We accorded Mongolia most favored nation trading status. We have concluded a bilateral tax treaty and an Overseas Private Investment Corporation agreement. We have supported Mongolia's entry into the IMF, the World Bank, and the Asian Development Bank.

In short, Mongolia represents a good example of the universality of civil and political rights and provides evidence that political freedom and economic development are not mutually exclusive.

Mr. Speaker, this Member would thank the chairman of the International Relations Committee, the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN], for his assistance in moving House Resolution 158.

This Member would also thank the distinguished gentleman from California, the ranking Democrat on the Asia and Pacific Subcommittee, Mr. BERMAN, and the distinguished gentleman from Indiana, Mr. HAMILTON, for their help and support in moving this resolution forward. With their help, the committee has crafted a truly bipartisan message of support for the Mongolian people.

Mr. Speaker, I urge passage of House Resolution 158.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

(Mr. WYNN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WYNN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly support House Resolution 158, as amended.

After nearly 70 years of one-party Communist rule, the Mongolian people held their first multiparty democratic elections 5 years ago, on July 29, 1990. Since then, the Mongolian people have made important progress toward establishing a democratic, multiparty state and a free market economy.

The United States has sought to assist Mongolia in this transition to democracy and a market-oriented economy.

Only last week the First Lady visited Mongolia to reiterate our support for the Mongolian people and their achievements.

It is proper and fitting that the Congress also take note of Mongolia's accomplishments.

By adopting this resolution now, the House will be voicing its own support for the remarkable transition that Mongolia has undergone in recent years.

I commend Chairman BEREUTER for this resolution and urge its swift adoption.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. KIM. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the International Relations Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, I rise in strong support of this resolution commemorating the fifth anniversary of the first democratic multiparty elections held in Mongolia. This is an appropriate way for the House to commend the Mongolian people for the significant political and economic reforms they have made such a relatively short period of time.

Prior to 1990, Mongolia was a subservient, Soviet satellite state isolated from the rest of the world. Mongolia did not even have diplomatic or trade relations with most countries of the world including the United States. Tens of thousands of Soviet Red army troops were stationed in the country. As in other captive nations, the Communist Party monopolized power in Mongolia.

All of that changed 5 years ago. After nearly seven decades of Communist rule, the Mongolians held their first multiparty democratic elections and embarked on a very ambitious course of democratic and economic reform. And, Mongolians are proud of their new direction. While their ongoing transition has had its obstacles and temporary setbacks, compared to the progress of its giant neighbors; namely, Russia and China, Mongolia is a welcome success. As one Mongolian boasted to me, "We have evolved from a Communist monopoly to a democracy without blowing up the parliament or running over students with tanks." Not what one would expect from the land of Genghis Khan. Perhaps Mongolia's neighbors could learn a thing or two from Ulan Bator.

Without question, Mongolia continues to face tough challenges and growing pains during this period of transition. I realize that difficulties can arise during such a comprehensive reform effort. But, for genuine democracy and economic prosperity to be realized, Mongolians must understand that these problems need to be addressed in ways that further pro-

mote freedom and the rule of law. It is in this positive context that I raised concern about the possible erosion of religious freedom as guaranteed in the 1992 Mongolian Constitution during committee consideration of this resolution. As a result, during the markup, an amendment I sponsored to reinforce the importance of respecting civil liberties and the rule of law was unanimously accepted.

Considering the history, the harsh environment, and the economic and political isolation of Mongolia, the Mongolian people can be very proud of their achievements to date. While it is true that Mongolia is often not the focus of United States foreign policy, that should not be interpreted as we do not care. We do. First Lady Hillary Clinton recently paid an important good-will visit to Mongolia. And, today, this special resolution lets Mongolians know that their efforts are recognized by the United States House of Representatives. It sends a clear message that the United States is a friend and does care about Mongolia. It encourages Mongolia to continue full speed ahead with its reform program despite the short-term challenges such action may present.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support House Resolution 158 and to bolster the ongoing democratic movement in Mongolia.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. WYNN. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BEREUTER] that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, House Resolution 158, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on House Resolution 158, as amended.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Nebraska?

There was no objection.

SUPPORTING A DISPUTE RESOLUTION IN CYPRUS

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 42), supporting a resolution to the long-standing dispute regarding Cyprus, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. CON. RES. 42

Whereas the long-standing dispute regarding Cyprus remains unresolved;

Whereas the military occupation by Turkey of a large part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus has continued for over 20 years;

Whereas the status quo on Cyprus remains unacceptable;

Whereas the United States attaches great importance to a just and peaceful resolution of the dispute regarding Cyprus;

Whereas the United Nations and the United States are using their good offices to resolve such dispute;

Whereas on January 5, 1995, President Clinton appointed a Special Presidential Emmissary for Cyprus;

Whereas the United Nations has adopted numerous resolutions that set forth the basis of a solution for the dispute regarding Cyprus;

Whereas United Nations Security Council Resolution 939 of July 29, 1994, reaffirms that a solution must be based on a State of Cyprus with a single sovereignty and international personality, and a single citizenship, with its independence and territorial integrity safeguarded, and comprising two politically equal communities as described in the relevant Security Council resolutions, in a bicomunal and bizonal federation, and that such a settlement must exclude union in whole or in part with any other country or any form of partition or secession;

Whereas the United Nations has described the occupied part of Cyprus as one of the most highly militarized areas in the world;

Whereas the continued overwhelming presence of more than 30,000 Turkish troops on Cyprus hampers the search for a freely negotiated solution to the dispute regarding Cyprus;

Whereas the United Nations and the United States have called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of the Republic of Cyprus; and

Whereas comprehensive plans for the demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus have been proposed: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Congress—

(1) reaffirms that the status quo on Cyprus is unacceptable;

(2) welcomes the appointment of a Special Presidential Emmissary for Cyprus;

(3) expresses its continued strong support for efforts by the United Nations Secretary General and the United States Government to help resolve the Cyprus problems in a just and viable manner at the earliest possible time;

(4) insists that all parties to the dispute regarding Cyprus agree to seek a solution based upon the relevant United Nations resolutions, including Security Council Resolution 939 of July 29, 1994;

(5) reaffirms the position that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from the territory of the Republic of Cyprus;

(6) considers that ultimate, total demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus would meet the security concerns of all parties involved, would enhance prospects for a peaceful and lasting resolution of the dispute regarding Cyprus, would benefit all of the people of Cyprus, and merits international support; and

(7) encourages the United Nations Security Council and the United States Government to consider alternative approaches to promote a resolution of the long-standing dispute regarding Cyprus based upon relevant Security Council resolutions, including incentives to encourage progress in negotiations or effective measures against any recalcitrant party.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BEREUTER] will be recognized for 20 minutes, and the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. WYNN] will be recognized for 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BEREUTER].

(Mr. BEREUTER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, having walked the blue line that divides Greeks from Turks in Cyprus—a line frozen in time for over 20 years—this Member is well aware of the need to move forward in achieving a just settlement of the Cyprus issue. This is a line where Turkish and Greek Cypriot forces have faced off, sometimes only 20 to 30 feet from one another, ready to resume hostilities at a moment's notice.

The current division of the island of Cyprus serves the interests of no one, and hampers the development and prosperity of both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. In the meantime, the painfully slow negotiation on confidence building measures [CBM's] has run into additional difficulties.

House Concurrent Resolution 42 seeks to break the diplomatic logjam by proposing the demilitarization of the entire island. This Member would make the obvious point that demilitarization would have to be part of a comprehensive negotiated settlement, for demilitarization in and of itself would not resolve all the island's political problems.

This Member would make one final point: It is over 20 years since the island was forcibly partitioned. This Member has met with Republic of Cyprus President Clerides and Turkish Cypriot leader Raulf Denktesh. This Member sincerely believes these men are working for what they believe are the best interests of their people. While they are on opposite sides, they know one another, and at a basic level, I believe they respect one another. These men, and those like them, are of a certain age. When they were young, they attended the same schools. As young men, they fought the Nazis together. Later, they belonged to the same clubs and ate at the same restaurants. In short, they speak from common experience.

But Mr. Denktesh and President Clerides are not young men. And those who will follow them do not have this common history. The next generation lacks those common experiences that were forged in World War II. The next generation of Cypriot leaders is likely to have far less appreciation of the unique contributions of multicultural society. And this Member fears that the next generation of leaders is likely to be less committed to a fair and equitable settlement.

It is for this reason that efforts must now be redoubled to achieve a resolution to the longstanding dispute on Cyprus. This Member would urge that all parties work toward an honorable peace, and I note the efforts of the gentleman from New York [Mr. ENGEL] to achieve that peace. I commend him for crafting House Concurrent Resolution 42.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

(Mr. WYNN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WYNN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, first, I would like to commend my colleagues, Representative ENGEL and Chairman GILMAN for their work and leadership in bringing this constructive resolution before the House.

I would also point out that this resolution was adopted by an overwhelming majority of both parties when it was considered in the Committee on International Relations in July.

As an original cosponsor of House Concurrent Resolution 42, I would urge my colleagues to support this timely and important resolution.

I believe—as is amply set forth in the resolution—that the status quo on Cyprus is unacceptable.

I welcome and encourage the continuing efforts by the United States and the United Nations to help resolve the Cyprus problem in a just and viable manner.

I believe that the gradual demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus would enhance prospects for a peaceful resolution of the long-standing dispute, and as a result would benefit all the people of that island nation.

For this important reason I strongly recommend that the House adopt House Concurrent Resolution 42. It is a helpful effort to move the peace process in Cyprus forward.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PALLONE].

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from Maryland for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I am here this afternoon to urge all of my colleagues to support House Concurrent Resolution 42, that calls for the demilitarization of the island nation of Cyprus.

Now in its 21st year, the illegal occupation of Cyprus by Turkey—who controls over one-third of the territory of this formerly sovereign nation with a heavily armed force of over 30,000—is an international dilemma that demands the highest degree of American attention and perseverance. Having watched with extreme pride the tireless efforts of American diplomats as they have tried to bring peace to Bosnia over the last few weeks, I want to remind all my colleagues that the issues we are fighting for in Bosnia are very much the same as those the United States needs to stand for with respect to Cyprus.

Just as the international community has condemned the Serb's brutal and shocking campaign of territorial conquest, so to has it long been in opposition to Turkey's defiant disrespect for Cyprus' sovereignty. Mr. Speaker, the international community has demanded that the Turks allow the Cypriot people to live as a free and independent people in various forms over the years. Most recently, in July of

last year the U.N. Security Council passed Resolution 939, which mandated that any settlement of the Cyprus issue "must be based on a state of Cyprus with a single sovereignty and international personality and a single citizenship with its independence and territorial integrity safeguarded."

Among other things, House Concurrent Resolution 42 "insists that all parties to the dispute regarding Cyprus agree to seek a solution based upon the relevant United Nations resolutions," including Resolution 939. It does so, moreover, by calling for the complete demilitarization of an island that the Secretary General of the United Nations has described as "one of the most highly militarized areas in the world."

Mr. Speaker, if any one can tell me why it is not a good idea to demilitarize an island that for years has brought instability to the entire region surrounding it, I would love to hear the explanation. This gesture of goodwill, which was made last year by the Cypriot President Glafcos Clerides, represents a tremendous chance to facilitate a peaceful resolution to a highly volatile situation. A Turkish refusal to act on this proposal can only be read as an unwavering determination by Turkey to ignore the rule of law.

The Turks, however, should know that should they refuse to move on this situation, their determination will be met with an equal resolve by the United States to do whatever it takes to once again see a free and independent Cyprus. As the House's decision earlier this year to cut United States aid to Turkey illustrates, we mean business when we say we want to see this issue resolved consistent with respect for international law. I would urge my colleagues to demonstrate this once again by supporting House Concurrent Resolution 42.

Mr. WYNN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his outstanding remarks.

Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ROTH], a distinguished member of the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from Nebraska for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I know that it is politically popular to beat up on the Turks, but I think it is also important for us in the U.S. Congress to be evenhanded. Mr. Speaker, this resolution is well-intentioned. All of us would like to see the settlement take place in Cyprus. Unfortunately, this resolution does not contribute anything useful to the long search for the settlement.

For decades, Cyprus has been the object of political and sometimes military tug of war between Greece and Turkey. This resolution could well make it more difficult for a settlement to be reached in Cyprus. First of all,

the language in the resolution is slanted against Turkey. Let me give you an example. Those of you who have had a chance to take a look at the resolution, it says, "Whereas, the military occupation by Turkey of a large part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus has been continued for over 20 years," but there is nothing in here about Greece. That is why I say it is not evenhanded.

The resolution also implies that the United Nations has criticized only Turkish presence, and that is not the case, because the United Nations has called on both sides to withdraw their military forces. The resolution reaches the unfounded conclusion that Turkey's military presence is an obstacle to a negotiated solution in Cyprus.

Let me quote from the resolution. It says, "Whereas, the continued overwhelming presence of more than 30,000 Turkish troops in Cyprus hampers the search for a freely negotiated solution to the dispute regarding Cyprus," and then it goes on, but it says nothing about the Greek troops that are there.

I feel as a Congress we should be evenhanded and look at both sides. The reality is that both Greece and Turkey have a legitimate interest in Cyprus. For the U.S. Congress now to come down on one side in this dispute is both unfair, and I think it is going to be counterproductive.

How will the Turks react to this resolution? Will they be more willing or less willing to negotiate a settlement if they see the U.S. policy as this unfolds here? For that reason alone I think the Congress should not adopt this resolution.

Cyprus is a really tough problem. Everyone understands that. This resolution is, or a resolution like this can be laudatory. If, if, if, we have something useful to offer. Just to adopt a resolution like this I think is just empty rhetoric. Therefore, I think that this is not a good time to pass this resolution.

I also think when you pass a resolution like this again, it should be evenhanded. Despite the good intentions of its sponsors, this resolution will not help Greece and Turkey solve the long-standing dispute over Cyprus.

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For that reason, Mr. Speaker, I say that this is not a good resolution for the House to pass.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, this resolution offers a very moderate approach to the thorny issue of Cyprus. The withdrawal of foreign forces from the island is long overdue, and would certainly contribute to a climate conducive to negotiations leading to a settlement along the lines recommended in numerous Security Council resolutions. During our August recess, I had the opportunity to visit Cyprus once again and to view first hand the tragic effects of the prolonged division of the island. People who have been unable to return to their homes and villages for over 20 years. Bitterness and enmity have replaced traditions of togetherness and common purpose among the citizens of Cyprus. It is time to take some

substantive measures to break the deadlock, and I strongly believe that total demilitarization should be considered by the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus.

I congratulate the gentleman from New York [Mr. ENGEL] for bringing this measure forward and for all his diligent efforts on behalf of the people of Cyprus. Those of us in this committee and in the House who have been concerned with the tragic situation in Cyprus over the years appreciate the gentleman's contribution.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to speak about the tragic separation of Cyprus enforced through the ongoing presence of Turkish military troops and to express strong support for the demilitarization of Cyprus as called for in the gentleman from New York's legislation.

Mr. Speaker, for 20 years the Cyprus problem has remained unresolved, despite continual attempts by the United States Government and the United Nations to achieve a solution. Notwithstanding the presence of United Nations peacekeeping forces, there has been little peace in Cyprus. Since 1974, 5 Americans and over 1,600 Greek Cypriots are among the missing and a generation has grown up in Cyprus not knowing peace and unity.

Mr. Speaker, over one-third of the territory of the Cyprus remains under occupation by over 30,000 heavily armed troops. Indeed, United Nations Secretary General Boutros-Ghali has described the northern part of Cyprus as "one of the most highly militarized areas in the world." The Turkish occupation of Cyprus is recognized to be illegal and is in clear violation of numerous United Nations resolutions. Unfortunately, Turkey has recently increased the size of its occupation forces by adding 8,000 additional troops, accompanied by new tanks and armored vehicles. This buildup adds tension and danger to an already unconscionable situation.

Mr. Speaker, since the late 1970's the United Nations, with United States support, has promoted negotiations aimed at creating a Federal, vicomunal, bizonal Republic of Cyprus. Unfortunately these efforts have been unsuccessful. More recently, Cypriot President Clerides has proposed a demilitarization of Cyprus whereby he would completely disband the Cyprus Army in exchange for a withdrawal of Turkish forces from the island. U.N. peacekeepers could then monitor the status quo, at a reduced cost, while negotiations on the future of Cyprus continue. With both parties disarmed, the risk of violence would be reduced and, I think, the potential for progress in negotiations enhanced. This important and timely confidence building proposal by President Clerides should be embraced wholeheartedly by the Turkish Government, the leadership of northern Cyprus, and the United Nations.

Mr. Speaker, Cyprus is an incredibly beautiful island with wonderful, warm people and a rich history that is evidenced by a wealth of important archaeological sites and a beautiful legacy of art and architecture. Unfortunately, as you walk down the winding streets to Nicosia or drive through the Cyprus countryside, you are constantly reminded of the 35,000 troops that loom just beyond the horizon, beyond the U.N. peacekeeping troops, beyond the Green Line that divides Cyprus. The division of Cyprus is a profound tragedy

and this Congress should be vigilant in demanding an end to this tragedy. Demilitarization of the Island represents an important step in the right direction and the United States should use all available avenues to exert pressure on the Government of Turkey to see that this step occurs.

Mrs. MALONEY. Mr. Speaker, I proudly rise today as an original cosponsor of House Concurrent Resolution 42. I would also like to commend Representative ENGEL for his diligence and leadership on this issue. He is a true champion of the Greek-American community.

Over 21 years ago, the world witnessed a brutal and blatantly illegal act of ethnic cleansing. In 1974 hundreds of thousands of Turkish troops invaded the island of Cyprus. In a gross violation of human rights and international law, 200,000 people were expelled from their homes and forced from the land which had been theirs for generations. Tragically, this island remains divided by the continuing shackles of occupation and oppression—35,000 troops continue to occupy 37 percent of the island.

This resolution will put the House of Representatives on record supporting a number of actions which will help solve the continuing problem of Cyprus. The status quo on Cyprus is clearly unacceptable, a fact long accepted by the international community. The framework for a solution to the situation have also long been recognized, and are enshrined in UN Security Council Resolution 939, which reaffirms that a solution must be based on a bilateral and bi-communal federation.

Perhaps most importantly, this resolution calls for the demilitarization of Cyprus. This step would help dramatically to lessen the tensions in the region. This fact has been recognized by Cypriot President Clerides, who has been calling for demilitarization since 1993. Demilitarization would meet the security concerns of all the parties involved. By doing so, demilitarization would enhance the prospects for peaceful and lasting resolution of the Cyprus problem. It would benefit all the people of Cyprus and merits international support.

I would also like to take this opportunity to commend the Clinton administration for all of its hard work on resolving the problem of Cyprus and other important concerns of the Greek-American community. The President has helped to focus international attention on Cyprus with the appointment of Mr. Richard Beattie as his Special Emissary for Cyprus. The resolution of the Cyprus problem is clearly a high priority for the Clinton administration. As the proud representative of the large and vibrant community of Cypriot-Americans in Astoria, Queens, it is a high priority for me as well. With this vote, the whole House is making clear that it regards the resolution of this problem as a critical foreign policy objective.

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Speaker, on August 2, 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait which promoted the United States to lead the West in a unified effort to repeal that aggression and show the world it would not stand for such an injustice. While it took the West literally less than 21 hours to respond to this violation of international law, it has taken 21 years for the West to take this first step toward bringing justice to the Island of Cyprus. For this reason, I would like to take a moment and applaud the work of this body for finally taking action and,

in doing so, sending a message of hope to the Greek Cypriot people.

Although it has been repeated time and time again on this House floor, I feel that it is important to resurrect the historical background of the illegal Turkish occupation of Cyprus. On July 20, 1974, Turkish troops invaded the island of Cyprus. The occupying force has since escalated into over 30,000 heavily armed troops, occupying nearly 40 percent of the sovereign territory of Cyprus. As a result of this invasion, over 1600 Greek Cypriots are unaccounted for and presumed either imprisoned or dead. As many of us know, there are also five American citizens who were abducted by Turkish forces during the invasion whose fate is still unknown and whose families have been grieving for 21 years, mystified as to why their Nation has done nothing to seek justice for their family members.

The resolution before us is the appropriate resolution for this body to act upon. House Concurrent Resolution 42, of which I am a proud original cosponsor, calls for the total withdrawal of Turkish troops from Cyprus. Without demilitarization that is little hope for meaningful negotiations. Just as we have learned from the situation in the former state of Yugoslavia, an accord can not be reached while weapons are being used as the instrument of communication.

Because we live in a country where personal freedoms and basic human rights are the cornerstone of government, it is incomprehensible for many of us to imagine a family member being dragged away by the secret police, never to be seen again; or to carry-out our daily lives with the threat and fear that comes from such military rule. For 21 years Greek Cypriots have lived under such horror waiting for their day of justice. Mr. Speaker, today we can give these people a taste of this justice by voting "aye" on House Concurrent Resolution 42, and I urge its unanimous adoption.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be an original cosponsor of House Concurrent Resolution 42, the Anti-Despotic Practices on Cyprus Act. The impetus for this legislation are the 500 Greek-Cypriots who are forced by the Turkish-Cypriots to live under oppressive conditions without basic freedoms.

The Anti-Despotic Practices on Cyprus Act reaffirms that the status quo on Cyprus is unacceptable and welcomes the appointment of a Special Presidential Emissary for Cyprus. The bill insists that all parties to the dispute regarding Cyprus agree to seek a solution based upon the relevant United Nations [UN] resolutions and reaffirms that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from the Republic of Cyprus. Demilitarization will lessen tensions in the region, meet the security concerns of all parties in an effective way, and help to promote a resolution to this dispute.

The Anti-Despotic Practices on Cyprus Act directs the President to make a determination as to whether United States foreign aid, either through the Economic Support Fund program, the Foreign Military Financing program, or the International Military Education and Training program, is being given to foreign governments who are participating in despotic practices against the people of Cyprus, who are not criminals and who have no association with terrorism.

For more than 20 years, innocent civilians have been limited in their location of worship,

their interaction with others, telephone access, free travel, the ability to send and receive mail, access to educations beyond elementary school, the ability to return home after attending college, and access to a fair justice system. Despite continued efforts by the United States Government, the Cyprus problem remains unresolved.

Twenty years of oppression is long enough. The time has come for the United States to make a substantive, legislative mandate and utilize its power to facilitate a peace agreement in this region.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of my resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 42, which calls for the demilitarization of the island of Cyprus. This important resolution was approved by the International Relations Committee on July 19, 1995, by a vote of 24 to 6 and has now garnered almost 90 cosponsors.

As my colleagues are aware, more than one-third of the sovereign territory of the Republic of Cyprus remains under foreign occupation by over 30,000 heavily armed troops. At the same time, a continuing arms buildup on the island is increasingly a matter of serious concern. I strongly believe that demilitarizing Cyprus would lessen tensions in the region, meet the security concerns of all parties, and, thereby, help to promote a settlement of the longstanding dispute.

For over 20 years, the Cyprus problem has remained unresolved, despite continued attempts by the United States Government and the United Nations. Earlier this year, President Clinton appointed a special envoy for Cyprus and sent Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke to the region in search of a solution. Their efforts were well intentioned, but have been unable as yet to break the deadlock.

A fresh approach is necessary to bridge the gap between the parties. Last year, President Glafcos Clerides of Cyprus unveiled a balanced proposal for the complete demilitarization of the island, which has been well received in the United States and Europe. It is our hope that endorsement of this notion by the Congress will help the parties build a climate within which negotiations can succeed.

A bipartisan group of almost 90 Members of Congress has joined as cosponsors of this legislation, including large majorities of Republicans and Democrats on the International Relations Committee. I would particularly like to thank Rep. BEN GILMAN, chairman of the International Relations Committee, and Rep. LEE HAMILTON, ranking Democrat on the committee, for their support of House Concurrent Resolution 42. I would also like to express my appreciation to Rep. JOHN PORTER, original Republican cosponsor of the legislation, for his support and cooperation as we sought to move the resolution forward.

Having passed the 21st anniversary of the Turkish occupation of Cyprus, I urge the House to pass House Concurrent Resolution 42 and take this moderate, yet forward-looking step to promote a resolution of the longstanding conflict on Cyprus.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. I would like to commend my colleagues—Mr. ENGEL of New York, the sponsor of House Concurrent Resolution 42, and Mr. GILMAN, chairman of the International Relations Committee—for bringing this bill to the floor today. I rise in strong support of this important resolution, which calls for the demilitarization of Cyprus and insists that all parties

to the dispute agree to seek a solution based upon relevant U.N. resolutions, including provisions of Security Council Resolution 939. Resolution 939 reaffirms that a solution of the Cyprus problem should be based upon a state of Cyprus with a single sovereignty, citizenship, and international personality.

Demilitarization is crucial to a satisfactory resolution of the division of this island nation. In fact, this couldn't have been made more clear than in a recent report submitted to the U.N. Security Council regarding its resolution renewing the U.N. peacekeeping force in Cyprus. In that report, U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali referred to occupied Cyprus as "one of the most highly militarized areas in the world."

Demilitarization would alleviate the security concerns of all parties and substantially enhance the prospects for a peaceful resolution of the problem.

It is evident, Mr. Speaker, that a solution to the 21-year-old problem on Cyprus will not be found until tensions are lessened on the island and the Turkish side agrees to come to the table and negotiate. I am satisfied that the Government of Cyprus remains committed to seeking a peaceful, just, and viable solution. The acceptance by the Turkish side of U.N. Resolution 939 and of Cyprus President Glafcos Clerides' demilitarization proposal would substantially enhance the prospects of a negotiated settlement.

Recently, in my home in Florida, a gentleman said to me that in all the history of the country of Turkey, voluntary negotiations and agreements based on those negotiations are absent. He said, "They don't negotiate."

Turkey has many internal problems. American taxpayer dollars are intended to help them with those problems, not to help them to wage invasions against their neighbors and to illegally occupy other lands.

Common sense, a true caring for their own people, their domestic needs and world opinion all would seem to dictate that Turkey would want to work out a solution to a problem that they just do not need.

I feel that we in the Congress have a responsibility to use our influence to see that Cyprus is made whole again, to rescue the thousands of Greek-Cypriots who have become refugees in the land of their birth. Like those faithful Cypriots in my district and elsewhere, we must do our utmost in this cause.

Again, Mr. Speaker I commend the sponsor of this legislation and his colleagues on the International Relations Committee, and I strongly urge passage of the bill.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of House Concurrent Resolution 42, which officially calls for the demilitarization of Cyprus. This resolution will benefit both Greek and Turkish Cypriots while at the same time serving to ease the tensions in this region.

More than one-third of the sovereign territory of the Republic of Cyprus remains under foreign occupation by over 30,000 armed troops. Demilitarization of the island called for in House Concurrent Resolution 42 is essential if any type of settlement to end this long-standing dispute is to be reached.

Many efforts have been made in the past to resolve the Cyprus problem. These efforts must continue if we are to bridge the gap between the two parties. As late as last year, President Glafcos Clerides of Cyprus unveiled

a plan that would demilitarize the island. This proposal should be commended. The United States has also taken steps to facilitate an agreement. Earlier this year, President Clinton appointed a special envoy for Cyprus and dispatched Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke to the region in hopes of helping to achieve a solution.

House Concurrent Resolution 42 is an important continuation of these efforts. It is a balanced and bipartisan resolution that will help to stabilize the eastern Mediterranean and will benefit all those concerned.

Ms. PELOSI. I rise today in support of House Concurrent Resolution 42, introduced by Representative ENGEL, to promote a peaceful resolution of the occupation of Cyprus. I am proud to be a cosponsor of this important bill and commend Representative ENGEL for his leadership on this issue.

In 1974, in a show of brute strength, Turkey dispatched its forces to begin an illegal occupation of Cyprus. Today, 21 years later, that tragic occupation continues. Despite calls by the United States and the United Nations for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Cyprus, Turkish troops remain in Cyprus. And despite a call by the United Nations for this dispute to be resolved based on a single sovereign state of Cyprus, Cyprus remains partitioned along Greek and Turkish ethnic lines. And despite the support by the international community for a peaceful resolution of this conflict by negotiations, Turkish intransigence has, in the past, undermined the good faith atmosphere necessary for a successful conclusion to such talks.

The resolution before us today in straightforward. It places the United States Congress firmly on record in support of a peaceful resolution to the dispute between Turkey and Cyprus; it calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus; and, it insists that all parties to the dispute seek a solution based on the United Nations framework. House Concurrent Resolution 42 also encourages the demilitarization of Cyprus and urges the U.N. Security Council and the administration to consider alternative approaches to resolving this dispute.

Mr. Speaker, the people of the divided nation of Cyprus have suffered for too long under an illegal occupation. A peaceful resolution to this conflict is long overdue. Withdrawal of foreign troops and the demilitarization of Cyprus are important steps toward restoring peace and harmony to this tragically divided land. I urge my colleagues to support House Concurrent Resolution 42 to put the U.S. Congress on record in support of such action.

Ms. FURSE. Mr. Speaker, with today's passage of House Concurrent Resolution 42 regarding Cyprus, I welcome this opportunity to mention the important work of the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy in resolving conflict there. The resolution's encouragement of the U.N. Security Council and the U.S. Government to consider alternative approaches to promote a resolution of the dispute there is especially significant.

I submit for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a compilation of the institute's impressive history of achievement in utilizing alternative approaches for bringing about new understandings among Cypriots in both the Greek and Turkish communities.

This model has great potential for resolving this and other seemingly intractable conflicts. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

INSTITUTE FOR
MULTI-TRACK DIPLOMACY,
Cyprus, August 14, 1995.

BACKGROUND

Since July 1991, we have been working in partnership with NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science to co-sponsor our initiative in Cyprus. The aim is to create a human infrastructure of change agents among three Turkish- and Greek-Cypriot (TC & GC) communities who can manage a citizen-based, internal, bicomunal process of trust-building, peacebuilding, and reconciliation between two peoples who have been in conflict for decades.

Laying the groundwork for this project took nearly two years and included eight trips to Cyprus by IMTD and NTL staff members. Each of these trips included some form of training related to conflict resolution. We fostered a network of interested and active Greek and Turkish Cypriots who consistently participate in these events. This group is coordinated by a Bicomunal Steering Committee (BSC), which came into existence in November 1992. We created this Committee for the purpose of advising IMTD on this project, but we were elated to discover that it has taken on a life of its own, coordinating other peacebuilding activities on the island in addition to being involved with the IMTD project.

CATALYSTS FOR CHANGE IN CYPRUS

In late July and early August of 1993, IMTD and the NTL Institute held a ten-day intensive training in conflict resolution and intergroup relations in Oxford, England. This marked the transformation of this project into a new stage. Ten Greek Cypriots and ten Turkish Cypriots participated under the guidance of Louise Diamond and three trainers from the fields of conflict resolution and the applied behavioral sciences. The Oxford program was exciting, powerful, emotionally draining, and spiritually uplifting. The training covered many different kinds of concrete skills, ranging from basic communication, to conflict analysis, to project design and implementation. Beyond the cognitive level, the participants also developed friendships, built trust, and began the emotionally painful process of reconciliation.

They translated these learnings into the beginning of several bicomunal projects which they started upon their return to the island. The participants, who began to call themselves "The Oxford Group," returned to Cyprus with increased understanding, and, above all, with a renewed sense of hope—a crucial element of momentum needed to break the patterns of thought and action that keep the Cyprus conflict from being resolved.

CYPRUS CONFLICT MANAGEMENT PROJECT

To maintain this momentum, the Oxford Group asked for a more advanced "training of trainers" program and identified a second group of twenty who were ready to take the base training. This desire to go further, and the obvious success of the Oxford Group, spurred the Cyprus Fulbright Commission to request extensive funding for additional training in conflict resolution in Cyprus. In response to this request, IMTD formed a new consortium, joining resources with NTL and the Conflict Management Group (CMG) of Cambridge, Massachusetts, in order to provide an extensive series of training programs during the spring and summer of 1994.

In this series, the Cyprus Consortium delivered eight training sessions to over 200 participants. One workshop was for Cyprus American Scholarship Program (CASP) students studying in American universities. Two were for community leaders who are involved in bicomunal activities. There were

three sessions for CASP alumni from the thirty years of the program, and one training of trainers program was offered. A special program brought forty public policy leaders, twenty from each community, to the Coolfont Conference Center in West Virginia for intensive training. This expansive project was sponsored by the Cyprus Fulbright Commission and funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development, through Amideast.

An additional benefit of the program was the collaboration between the three different organizations in the Consortium, which proved to be a great laboratory for cross-fertilization on different theories and practices of conflict resolution. Also, an ongoing research and evaluation component is uncovering fascinating data about the effects of these types of training events on the participants and on the larger community to which they return.

Louise Diamond returned to Cyprus in December 1994 with CMG Project Director Diana Chigas to do follow-up work, particularly to conduct evaluation interviews with twenty participants from the Coolfont Public Policy Leaders training. The reports from the participants were enthusiastically positive, as they noted how they were able to use the skills upon returning and how the experience has changed their lives. Several participants wrote articles or appeared on television shows to describe the work publicly and reduce the public suspicion that follows this work in Cyprus.

In early 1995 the Bicomunal Steering Committee officially opened an office in the Ledra Palace Hotel within the UN buffer zone. This provides a physical and institutional base for continuing bicomunal activities, and indicates the degree to which the conflict resolution work has been legitimated and accepted in both communities. Recent events on conflict resolution undertaken by graduates of our programs have attracted large audiences of up to two hundred people. Clearly, our work in Cyprus is bearing fruit.

CURRENT ACTIVITIES

In August 1995 the Cyprus Consortium received a second grant from Amideast and the Cyprus Fulbright Commission—this time to conduct six different training events over a three-year span. In October 1995 we will run an advanced Training of Trainers program, building upon the training of trainers event from the summer of 1994. In 1996, three events are scheduled, including a training for Turkish and Greek-Cypriot scholarship students in the United States, a training for Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot educators in Cyprus, and a training for Public Policy Leaders, similar to the training we offered in West Virginia last summer. In 1997 we will conduct another scholarship student training, and we will bring a group of Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot High School students to the United States for a conflict resolution summer camp.

The Cyprus Consortium has also received a small grant from the Carnegie Corporation to develop a conflict analysis workshop for public leaders that will build on the work we have already completed. The project staffs at both IMTD and CMG will engage in ongoing research into the development of the conflict case studies, including El Salvador, Northern Ireland, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and South Africa. The staff will also continue research on theories developed by IMTD, NTL, and CMG and the Harvard Negotiation Project with the goal of developing training materials that will aid the public policy leaders in their own conflict analysis process. If funding can be secured, a workshop could be planned for as early as spring 1996.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I want to express my opposition to House Concurrent Resolution 42.

I would like to call my colleagues' attention to two clauses in this resolution which deserve close scrutiny.

The first is the fifth "Whereas Clause" on page two. It concludes

Whereas the continued overwhelming presence of more than 30,000 Turkish troops on Cyprus hampers the search for a freely negotiated solution to the dispute regarding Cyprus.

The second is the sixth "Resolved Clause" on page three. It affirms that,

The Congress—considers that the demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus would meet the security concerns of all parties involved, would enhance prospects for a peaceful and lasting resolution of the dispute regarding Cyprus, would benefit all of the people of Cyprus, and merits international support.

I believe both of these clauses are seriously flawed.

With respect to the fifth "Whereas Clause" on page two, I wish the resolution's supporters would say what they really mean—that the 30,000 Turkish troops in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus [TRNC] prevent the Greek Cypriots from unilaterally imposing their own solution to the Cyprus dispute on the Turkish Cypriots.

Calling for the withdrawal of Turkish troops from Cyprus prior to any negotiated settlement which provides for the security of the Turkish Cypriots is absurd. I would dare say that few in this body would ask the Republic of China on Taiwan to disarm as a first step toward promoting the unification of China or suggest that South Koreans should lay down their arms to facilitate the reunification of the Korean peninsula.

While I am not trying to compare the Government of the Republic of Cyprus with North Korea or Communist China, the sad fact is that Turkish Cypriot distrust of Greek Cypriots is every bit as strong as Taiwanese distrust of Communist Chinese or South Korean distrust of North Koreans. This distrust is the result of the terrible repression which they suffered at the hands of Greek Cypriots from 1960 to 1974.

To ignore the legitimate security concerns of the Turkish Cypriot community and to conclude, as this resolution does on page three, in the sixth "Resolved Clause" that the demilitarization of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus [TRNC] would meet the security concerns of all parties involved and would benefit all of the people of Cyprus without also requiring the Republic of Cyprus to make similar confidence-building concessions only reveals the biased nature of this resolution.

If the supporters of this resolution were really concerned about promoting a fair resolution to the Cyprus dispute they would also call on the Governments of the Republic of Cyprus and Greece to end their defacto embargo of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus [TRNC].

While the Republic of Cyprus prefers not to use the word "embargo," because a declared embargo is a form of recognition of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus [TRNC], it has employed numerous tactics designed to impoverish the Turkish Cypriots since 1974.

For example, the Republic of Cyprus declares all Turkish Cypriot airports "illegal."

They consider any landing by a foreign carrier as a violation of their air space, and Greek Cypriot air traffic controllers refuse to clear planes for landing in the north. Consequently, no planes from Europe will risk landing in the north. Tourists who wish to visit the north must transit through Turkey. This additional expense and burden have killed the development of a tourist industry. In addition, all overseas mail must be routed through Turkey.

The Republic of Cyprus also declares all Turkish Cypriot seaports illegal. Thus, if a ship docks in the north and afterwards docks at a southern port, its captain is subject to arrest and imprisonment.

The Republic of Cyprus has pressured most foreign countries to declare that export certificates, issued by Turkish Cyprus which vouch for the health and safety of products, are invalid. As a result, most Turkish Cypriot exports must be routed through Turkey, which adds to the cost and has jeopardized the survival of many Turkish Cypriot businesses.

The Greek Cypriot embargo has also hindered growth of international business. Turkish Cypriots, who have applied to be agents of foreign companies and open franchises in the north have been rejected because Greek Cypriots have threatened retaliation against those companies that also have franchises in the Republic of Cyprus and Greece.

Unfortunately, nothing about the Greek Cypriot embargo of the north is mentioned in House Concurrent Resolution 42. If the resolution's supporters really want to promote harmony between the two Cypriot communities, I suggest that they call on the Republic of Cyprus to end its economic embargo against the north before they demand the withdrawal of Turkish troops.

Mr. Chairman, before I conclude, I want to call attention to the most serious problem with this resolution. Like most other resolutions brought before this committee dealing with Cyprus, House Concurrent Resolution 42 glosses over—some may even say purposely ignores—the history of Cyprus prior to 1974. I, therefore, feel compelled to examine the origin of this conflict and specifically the period of 1963–74.

I want to stress to my colleagues that in 1960, when Great Britain relinquished control of the island, a bicomunal government was established with shared leadership by Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots as political equals. Neither community was to dominate the new government. Tragically, right after Britain's departure, the new President of Cyprus, a Greek Cypriot, Archbishop Makarios, began to carry out his plan for union with Greece. By December 1963, Greek Cypriots had destroyed the bicomunal character of the Republic physically ousting Turkish Cypriot leaders from their elected positions and destroying over 100 Turkish Cypriot villages.

For the next 11 years, Turkish Cypriots, heavily outnumbered by the Greek Cypriots, suffered great losses—human and material—in clashes initiated by Greek Cypriots and fully supported by the Greek Army. One out of every 120 Turkish Cypriots, including women, children, and the elderly, was killed during this period even with U.N. peacekeeping troops present on the island.

Thousands of Turkish Cypriots were forced to flee from their homes to live in enclaves throughout the island and were, in effect, held hostage in their own land without representation in government which was provided them

in the 1960 constitution. United States Secretary of State George Ball visited Cyprus in February 1964 and concluded that Greek Cypriots "just wanted to be left alone to kill Turkish Cypriots." Turkey waited for 11 years for help from the world community. None came. By 1974, Turkey could no longer stand by and watch innocent Turkish Cypriots be slaughtered by Greek Cypriots. So Turkey intervened militarily on the island which was completely legal under the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee signed by the Turkish Cypriots, Turkey, Britain, Greece, and the Greek Cypriots. It clearly stated that any of signatures had the right to intervene on Cyprus should the sovereignty of the island be threatened.

Let me emphasize that these troops pose no threat to the southern part of the island. Since the Turkish military intervention concluded in 1974, these troops have never attacked or threatened to attack the south. They are there simply to deter aggression against Turkish Cypriots. Let me also add that unlike Government officials from Greece, who have often made statements saying that Cyprus is rightfully part of Greece, no Turkish officials have ever suggested that Turkey should attempt to annex the whole of Cyprus.

Unfortunately, House Concurrent Resolution 42 completely dismisses the history of Cyprus.

For Turkish Cypriots, the memories of 1960–74 remain vivid. It is absurd to suggest that they should lay down their arms and suddenly trust their age-old nemesis, especially when Greek Cypriots are continuing to try to impoverish them through an economic embargo. I cannot think of another conflict in the world where this committee would put forth such a solution.

I call on my colleagues to reject House Concurrent Resolution 42. This resolution is biased against the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and Turkey. It makes no demands whatsoever of the Republic of Cyprus like lifting its economic embargo against the north, and it completely ignores the history of the island and who is to blame for its division.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CLINGER). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BEREUTER] that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 42, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the concurrent resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the resolution just agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Nebraska?

There was no objection.

RELATING TO THE UNITED STATES-NORTH KOREA AGREED FRAMEWORK

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 83) relating to the United States-North Korea Agreed Framework and the obligations of North Korea under that and previous agreements with respect to the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and dialogue with the Republic of Korea, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.J. RES. 83

Whereas the United States-Democratic People's Republic of Korea Agreed Framework ("Agreed Framework"), entered into on October 21, 1994, between the United States and North Korea, requires North Korea to stop and eventually dismantle its graphite-moderated nuclear reactor program and related facilities, and comply fully with its obligations under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, in exchange for alternative energy sources, including interim supplies of heavy fuel oil for electric generators and more proliferation-resistant light water reactor technology;

Whereas the Agreed Framework also commits North Korea to "consistently take steps to implement the North-South Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula" and "engage in North-South" dialogue with the Republic of Korea;

Whereas the Agreed Framework does not indicate specific criteria for full normalization of relations between the United States and North Korea, and does not link the sequencing of actions in the Agreed Framework with any time-frame for carrying out the provisions of the North-South Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and carrying out the dialogue between North Korea and the Republic of Korea;

Whereas the commitment by North Korea to carry out the letter and spirit of the Agreed Framework has been put into doubt by actions of North Korea since October 21, 1994, including the suspected diversion of United States heavy fuel oil in apparent contravention of the agreed purpose of the interim fuel deliveries, the resistance to accepting light water reactors from the Republic of Korea, the harsh denunciations of the Government of the Republic of Korea and other actions contrary to the commitment by North Korea to engage in a dialogue with such Government, and the continued conduct of provocative, offensive oriented military exercises; and

Whereas the nuclear threat posed by North Korea is just one of a number of security concerns of the United States arising out of the policies of North Korea: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. CLARIFICATION OF NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION OBLIGATIONS OF NORTH KOREA UNDER THE AGREED FRAMEWORK.

It is the sense of the Congress that in discussions or negotiations with the Government of North Korea pursuant to the implementation of the United States-Democratic People's Republic of Korea Agreed Framework (in this joint resolution referred to as the "Agreed Framework") entered into on October 21, 1994, the President should uphold the following minimum conditions relating to nuclear nonproliferation:

(1) All spent fuel from the graphite-moderated nuclear reactors and related facilities

of North Korea should be removed from the territory of North Korea as is consistent with the Agreed Framework.

(2) The International Atomic Energy Agency should have the freedom to conduct any and all inspections that it deems necessary to fully account for the stocks of plutonium and other nuclear materials in North Korea, including special inspections of suspected nuclear waste sites before any nuclear components controlled by the Nuclear Supplier Group Guidelines are delivered for a light water reactor for North Korea.

(3) The dismantlement of all declared graphite-based nuclear reactors and related facilities in North Korea, including reprocessing units, should be completed in accordance with the Agreed Framework and in a manner that effectively bars in perpetuity any reactivation of such reactors and facilities.

(4) The United States should suspend actions described in the Agreed Framework if North Korea attempts to reload its existing 5 megawatt nuclear reactor or resumes construction of nuclear facilities other than those permitted to be built under the Agreed Framework.

SEC. 2. ROLE OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA UNDER THE AGREED FRAMEWORK.

It is further the sense of the Congress that the Republic of Korea should play the central role in the project to provide light water reactors to North Korea under the Agreed Framework.

SEC. 3. FURTHER STEPS TO PROMOTE UNITED STATES SECURITY AND POLITICAL INTERESTS WITH RESPECT TO NORTH KOREA.

It is further the sense of the Congress that, after the date of the enactment of this joint resolution, the President should not take further steps toward upgrading diplomatic relations with North Korea beyond opening liaison offices, or relaxing trade and investment barriers imposed against North Korea without—

(1) action by the Government of North Korea to engage in a North-South dialogue with the Government of the Republic of Korea;

(2) significant progress toward implementation of the North-South Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula; and

(3) progress toward the achievement of several long-standing United States policy objectives regarding north Korea and the Korean Peninsula, including—

(A) reducing the number of military forces of North Korea along the Demilitarized Zone and relocating such military forces away from the Demilitarized Zone;

(B) prohibiting any movement by North Korea toward the deployment of an intermediate range ballistic missile system; and

(C) prohibiting the export by North Korea of missiles and other weapons of mass destruction, including related technology and components.

SEC. 4. RESTRICTIONS ON ASSISTANCE TO NORTH KOREA AND THE KOREAN PENINSULA ENERGY DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 1 of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2370 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

"SEC. 620G. ASSISTANCE TO NORTH KOREA AND THE KOREAN PENINSULA ENERGY DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION.

"(a) IN GENERAL.—No assistance may be provided under this Act or any other provision of law to North Korea or the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization unless—

"(1) such assistance is provided in accordance with all requirements, limitations, and